[illegible] of each other, along the flank of a crest which descends uniformly in the direction [illegible] the sun whose fat bottom rims high in the western sky.

Daylight came dimmed as we drove through it, and then we drove into blurred. At first, olive terraces rise above us on the right and fall away below us on the left, but almost immediately they are replaced by houses. We stop in what appears to be the middle of the village, where an old car is parked with [illegible] entirely in opposite. In the next half minute or so, a group of small barefooted boys, dressed in shorts, gathers, and they eye us intently as they talk among themselves in low tones. Across the road, an old man in a long striped gown leans on a heavy cane. While he stands looking at us, he is joined by a young man in a spun shirt and neatly pressed European-style trousers. Other figures appear, but no one moves, and everyone keeps his distance. Two women walk close by the car, peering into it as best they can without upsetting the large white trays which they carry on their heads. They do not stop, however, and disappear into a windowless building nearby. The loud chatter which has been coming from this building dies down suddenly to a murmur, and more people appear. Their faces seem expressionless except that they manage to convey a feeling of wholeness, yet undivided, curiosity. We can begin forward.

As we get out of our car, someone grabs up a stone and hurls it at a large dog which has been barking savagely at us. It runs off, yelping. We approach the young man in European clothes and address him haltingly in Arabic, asking the whereabouts of one whose name we have been given. Almost before he has finished his reply, spoken in good English, the man we seek himself appears. We introduce ourselves, and he leads us to his house, elaborately inquiring after our health. Seated under his roof, we are offered cigarettes and small candies, even tea with [illegible] as coffee, and we experience for the first time the warm hospitality for which the people of Khamjil are famous.

We have arrived and can begin our study.

of the Wheatsun and the Mhowli as groups. The Wheatsun are transhumants, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thomson, 1954, pp. 134-35). According to Core Group informants, they, or other Maronites like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower stations of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily to their own interest which is the need for winter pasturage for their sheep and goats. However, the Core Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The Radio Kemish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the core less domestics out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Mhowli are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mhowli as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The core are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a percentage rent to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this rent is agreed upon with a view to the Core Group members getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mhowli, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the kitchens or less frequently are part time or domestic servants or laundresses. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of ritual-pollution (religionists they joined look something like castes. More explicitly, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representative groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one necessarily dominant over another. The crucial factor is simply the relative degree of economic opportunity and local establishment which obtain in the particular area. In other words, at the level of general charm, Mhowli is simply one localized example of the operations of Core's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way relieved by group avoidance or any such concept as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in all social relationships in the village is equalitarian, conformal, in the main, with the various barriers which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of itinerants: (1) Tinkers and miscue grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the liveliness of the streets in the cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are known and have" Some are beggars outright, others sell, perhaps nominally, to their work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawar (Gypsies). One group of these was observed—three women, a diminutive entourage, including circular hand-drum, their faces smeared, matching up the road with

434 It is evident that in all the villages the great majority of the breadwinners must depend on sources of income other than their own fields. Therefore, younger members of the family with the most mobility of the village, while the farmer himself must work part-time for one of the larger landlords or the oil company, hold a government job, get money from abroad, or subsist on a very low level.

Physical Description of Project Villages

390 It is now possible to describe with statistical accuracy the average village known to the project
365 area. A very general description must suffice until more detailed information is available. Houses are usually one-story stone structures of two or three rooms. They do not have electricity or running water. Usually the animals are accommodated in a stable connected to the house, or in a room in the house itself.

364 The villagers do not seem to be concerned with keeping their surroundings sanitary. In none
374 of the villages is there any attempt to collect and properly dispose of garbage. The uniform practice
369 is to relieve it to the fields. There are few toilets. Some walls and fields close to town serve as
370 certain community sand for sewage disposal. To serve the 1,000 people in the project area there are
42 pit privies. There are no tubs or showers. Women have no access and there are few to contaminate food and mosquitoes to transmit and transmit disease.

376 Houses are usually shown over and clean and the people attempt to clothe themselves decently
● 369 even with crowded quarters. Though extremely poor, the village family is very hospitable and
374 insists on sharing with a guest its meager supply of cigarettes or treasured coffee and sugar.

361 In the five project villages there are 1,100 buildings. This number includes 912 dwelling units, 94 business establishments, 105 separate barns and 11 public buildings. A detailed breakdown of the types of buildings by village is shown in Table VIII. Included in the category of public buildings are seven mosques. Saraband and Ein Hamrah have two mosques each, while in each

911 The government furnishes a teacher for government-sponsored elementary schools. The village
658 [illegible] rents a school room and the rent is paid by small contributions from the students. The
annual rent for one room varies from LL. 50 to LL. 250 per year.

915 Four of the government elementary teachers have completed their secondary education. In
the fifth government elementary teacher provided this area was silent, it was not possible to
determine his educational background. None of these men has been teaching for more than four
years or less than two. The annual salaries of the government-furnished teachers varies from
LL. 1,400 in Sarafand to LL. 1,800 in Sidon/Arab. The only individual teaching without more
than an elementary education was attached to the Sidon/Arab private school and received a meager
LL. 250 per year (about $100 at the current rate of exchange).

Local Attitude toward the Technical Cooperation Service

609 Expressions of confidence in the Technical Cooperation Service and Americans in general
855 were heard in all of the villages. The enumerators and others who visited these villages during the
course of the study were all cordially received and were given free cooperation. The expressed
desire of the people to work with the Technical Cooperation Service seems genuine.

The ordinary villager has no conception of just who the Americans were to build irrigation
projects, furnish schools, dig wells, or provide public health services for him, but he is hopeful that
they will do these things for him. They react to all of this proposed activity on a personal basis
and will judge its results on the basis of the benefits that they personally gain from it.

Many villagers made a point of stating that access to relieve their situation is all-important.
They felt that studies such as this are pointless, unless they are followed by worth-while acts. To
a large extent they believe that only through some such agency as the Technical Cooperation
Service can action be obtained and their situation improved.

Mc Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

the households are of minimum size, the strong and effective bonds of kinship are by no means limited to these units. For example, adult brothers maintain very close bonds throughout their lives, and this is often extended to first cousins, especially those on the father's side.

United in history, in religion, and in kinship, the people of al-Mansūf maintain a basically equalitarian society. Although there are individual differences in fortune and capability, there is nothing to suggest a class system. It was made quite clear, for example, that no one would ask or expect a fellow villager to serve him steadily in any work considered menial. Nevertheless, there is work of this sort which is done in the village. Those who do it live in al-Mansūf, but they are not of it. Between them and the members of the village there are no kinship ties, either by blood or marriage, and they belong to different religions from that of the village.

These additional inhabitants of the village come to a total of about 53 persons. Thirteen of them consist of house servants and the stokers at each of the bakeries. The remainder fall into two groups. The first of these amounts to over 30 people (6 households). These people are all Maronites and they come to al-Mansūf in the winter only, with their flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, from two villages which are mentioned at that season. Besides caring for their flocks, the men do wage labor in al-Mansūf and the women often do laundry. They live either in houses which are vacant in the winter or in the lower levels of occupied houses. The second group totals 13 persons in 3 households. They are very closely related to each other, and are Mitwali (Lebanese Shi'is). This group has been in al-Mansūf only about 12 years, and there was no one like them before that. The men are charcoal burners and use the scrub oak which grows in the village territory. The women do laundry and other chores for the village members.

The presence of these subsidiary groups in the village is a good example of the characteristic Middle East ethnic division of labor at work, emphasized by Carleton Coon.* The ethnic distinctions in this case is on the basis of religion and place of origin.

Location. It should now be clear that in some respects the traditionally extreme localism of al-Mansūf has been greatly lessened, while in other respects it remains strong. Herein lies the essence of the conflict which culture change has brought to al-Mansūf.

On the one hand, modern education and urban jobs (almost all of them related to institutions introduced through Western influence) have drawn a significant proportion of the villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. This trend is clearly recognized by many of the older people who can remember when conditions were different. A good many of them

*Carleton S. Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1951).